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## SESSION OF UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

by Vjekoslav CVRLJE

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**I**N CONTRAST to last year's session of the UN General Assembly, this year's will evolve in a more different and more favourable international atmosphere, a time when conditions are being created for relaxation of international relations. It may therefore be expected that the work of the 14th Session of the General Assembly will be all the more successful, quite apart from the fact that it will evolve in an atmosphere created by the talks of the big-power representatives, and in the first place by the visits abroad of the heads of the two greatest powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. Practice and experience have shown that unsettled relations among states and tension, especially among the big powers, seriously hinder the effective work of the United Nations and that sessions held under conditions of relaxation of international tension have achieved better results. At these, the United Nations' role and activity in various spheres have stood out more prominently.

The principle that in international relations the states should constantly strive for agreed compromise

solutions, and the realization that the method of negotiation and agreement is the only alternative to an annihilating war, especially in the modern nuclear age — that fundamental principle of peaceful and active coexistence with which the Charter of the United Nations is imbued and inspired — has of late been increasingly implemented in relations among the big powers which shoulder the greatest responsibility for the cause of peace and security in the world. In this respect, insofar as a more lasting and secure safeguarding of peace is involved, these efforts at agreement between the biggest powers on all essential questions, which cannot be settled without such agreement, should be welcomed as a positive fact.

The new international atmosphere has in fact already set in. This is borne out by such significant events, such as the Geneva Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France last summer, which played its role and had its significance in the new situation, quite apart from the results achieved; the agreed exchange of visits



between President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev which foreshadows further positive development in the world; the possible East-West summit meeting which is expected to ensue in 1959, etc.

This process of relaxation of international tension, which reflects a realization on the part of responsible statesmen of the great powers that a peaceful approach to the solution of international problems is the only alternative to a „cold“ or a „hot“ war, is above all a result of the general disposition in the world public in favour of a lasting peace and of its conviction that agreement is both possible and necessary; it is a result of the everwider recognition of the policy of active coexistence, for which the uncommitted countries have been pledged for many years now, exerting great efforts to this end both within and outside the United Nations.

The improvement of the world atmosphere will run parallel with the process of gradual establishment of confidence among the states, and in the first place of that of the necessary confidence and tolerant relations among the leading powers of the Western and the Eastern bloc. The more constructive the efforts and the more active the support of all countries, the more rapid and successful this process will be; for the establishment of constructive cooperation among the big powers should be a component part of general cooperation among all countries, and of general relaxation in the world, and should be aimed at providing security and equality of all nations and states in the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

The positive trends now visible in international relations are an expression of the objective requirements of the contemporary world, and at the same time of an ever-increasing preponderance of progressive and democratic trends in international relations, despite the resistance of negative factors from historically transcended positions.

These trends in the contemporary world are reflected in the United Nations and both positive and negative trends in the development of international relations find expression within that world organisation. Relations among the states, and particularly among the big powers aligned in two antagonistic military and political blocs, are reflected in the United Nations. They are the scene of conflict between the bloc and extra-bloc or non-bloc concepts and policies. The United Nations will play an increasingly important role, and its activity will be ever more successful, if the current process of improvement in the world advances more rapidly and brings about the full triumph of the policy of active and peaceful coexistence, not only in relations between the blocs, but above all among nations and states with different social and political systems, on the basis of respect of the principle of independence, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

It should be recalled that even at the time of the fiercest cold war and despite resistance from many quarters, the United Nations provided a certain supra-bloc framework for the consideration of international problems.

The United Nations has proved an indispensable instrument in solving every international problem, and played a prominent role during times of international crises, in its efforts to eliminate them.

The suggestions and proposals advanced by the Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, who has analysed United Nations' role in the contemporary situation and the possibility of improving its mechanism of action, have attracted special attention. He starts from the postulate that negotiations and contacts between the big powers which take place outside the organisation are in keeping with the Charter, which envisages direct negotiations and other ways of bringing about the peaceful solution of disputes among the parties directly interested. This, however, cannot detract from the United Nations' role as the most suitable instrument for international co-operation, enabling the largest number of states to participate in its work. To enhance this role, the Secretary-General put forward a number of interesting suggestions. He suggested that the importance of the permanent missions of states in the UN headquarters should be raised, that private and informal Security Council meetings should be held to exchange opinions on various questions, that special ECOSOC sessions at ministerial level should be introduced, that the International Court of Justice should be more fully engaged in UN proceedings etc.

This action by Hammarskjöld in providing for the most effective functioning of the United Nations and for its greatest participation in the solution of international problems reflects the need to strengthen the UN role in the new, improved international situation.

In view of the current processes and actions in the international sphere, the 14th session of the UN General Assembly promises favourable results. In addition to the fact that it will take place in an atmosphere created by talks between the highest representatives of the leading powers (Premier Khrushchev's visit to the United States coincides with the opening of the General Assembly session and is likely to have a certain effect on its course and work), the role and efforts of the uncommitted and small countries in the consolidation of contemporary international relations and in the solution of the most important problems are likely to stand out still more prominently thanks to the process of elimination of the cold war between the big powers. The efforts of these countries will supplement those of the big powers both inside and outside the United Nations to establish active and comprehensive international co-operation, and to settle disputes by way of negotiation and agreement.

Among other things, the General Assembly is likely to pay the greatest attention to the problem of disarmament (particularly the question of the general and permanent cessation of nuclear tests), to the question of aid to under-developed countries, to the Algerian and other colonial questions, to problems connected with the economic, social, cultural and health situation in the world, etc.

In view of the above statement by Secretary-General Hammarskjöld and his efforts to include a general item of disarmament in the agenda, it is most likely that the problem of disarmament will be discussed as part of this general item, and that it will include several aspects, e. g., 1) the cessation of nuclear and thermonuclear weapon tests (moved by India); 2) the question of French nuclear tests in the Sahara (moved by Mo-



eco); and 3) the prevention of the further manufacture of nuclear weapons (moved by Iraq).

There is no doubt that many countries will welcome the efforts in the field of disarmament made this year, notwithstanding the fact that they were made outside the United Nations. These include the Geneva conference of the three nuclear power representatives to discuss the suspension of nuclear tests; and certain recommendations put forward by the Foreign Ministers of the four big powers to set up a body which would deal with the question of disarmament, etc., provided the General Assembly, as the supreme body of the world organisation, makes such concrete recommendations as would make possible real progress towards disarmament, especially in respect of the early conclusion of an agreement on the lasting cessation of nuclear tests.

Since all the countries, irrespective of the greater responsibility of the big powers for the solution of the problem of disarmament, are equally interested in this problem, it may be safely expected that, in contrast to possible attempts at confining the problem to procedural and organisational matters, most countries (uncommitted and others) will come out in favour of concrete initial and partial agreements, in measures where this is objectively feasible. There is no doubt that the question will rise of establishing an adequate liaison between the United Nations and their bodies, on the one hand, and the conferences and bodies outside them, on the other, settling the problem of disarmament.

It is interesting to note that at the recent session of the UN Disarmament Commission, which include all the member-states of the UN and at which the United States, British, French and Soviet representatives submitted reports on disarmament programmes, a resolution was passed according to which the UN Disarmament Commission welcomes the resumption of consultations and the intention to supply the Commission with information on the work of the Committee of ten Eastern and Western countries, which was recently established to discuss disarmament measures. The resolution also expressed the hope that the results of the ten countries' negotiations would provide a basis for the consideration of disarmament in the United Nations.

Within the framework of the general process of ceasing and elimination of the cold war, every activity aimed at disarmament, even outside the United Nations, may have positive results. In view of this, all member-states of the United Nations and the world organisation as a whole will try to persuade the big powers, which are the most responsible for disarmament, to stop the further armament race by concluding initial disarmament agreements. Today, everybody agrees that an atomic or a hydrogen war would be absurd, and that agreements are therefore necessary. World opinion is convinced that an agreement on the lasting cessation of nuclear tests is already feasible, and expects it to come as a result of direct negotiation between the big powers. Such an agreement would in fact usher in the process of nuclear disarmament, so that other countries claiming the right to possess and test nuclear weapons would face pressure from the entire world public. This, among other things, is what the Indian, Moroccan and Iraqi disarmament proposals are aimed at.

It may be assumed that other problems connected with disarmament will be set aside, as the question of stopping the tests (in terms of a recommendation to conclude successfully the current negotiations) and the political aspects of disarmament, such as the United Nations' role in that field, as well as other questions, will figure in the forefront. A discussion on temporarily less important aspects of disarmament might have undesirable consequences in so far as it would draw attention from the fundamental and most urgent tasks.

At the request of 25 Asian and African countries, the question of Algeria has for the fifth time been included in the agenda of the UN General Assembly session. At the 11th and 12th sessions the General Assembly almost unanimously passed resolutions expressing the hope that a peaceful, democratic and just solution, in accordance with the UN Charter, might be found, in the spirit of cooperation. But there has been no progress towards the implementation of the recommendations contained in the resolutions. At last year's session, the Asian-African countries submitted a draft resolution recognizing the Algerian people's right to independence, and calling upon the interested parties, i.e., the French Government and the provisional Algerian Government, to open negotiations with the object of reaching a settlement in accordance with the UN Charter. The resolution failed, by one vote, to obtain the required two-thirds majority.

On the eve of the 14th annual session of the General Assembly, there is still no sign of improvement in the settlement of international relations. The course of events in Algeria points to the need for fresh and decisive efforts by the General Assembly towards eliminating the numerous dangers with which the war in Algeria is fraught.

During the fifth year of the war, all attempts at solution of the Algerian problem by use of force proved futile. The voices which state that there is no effective way out of the present situation in Algeria without a political solution of the problem which meets the Algerian people's justified aspirations, are gaining in strength and growing in number.

Many achievements with respect to the colonial people's emancipation will go on record at the current session, and it will adopt a series of decisions to promote the advancement of these peoples. Some territories, such as Togoland, the Cameroons, Somaliland and Nigeria, which together have a population of about 45 million, will gain independence in 1961.

Problems connected with the economic development of underdeveloped countries will this year again constitute one of the most important fields of the General Assembly's activity. It becomes increasingly clear that the constantly growing gap between the developed and underdeveloped areas and countries in the world might seriously derange efforts at transcending current political antagonisms in the world. It has been constantly emphasized in the United Nations that international aid to help economic development is one of the most urgent tasks and an essential prerequisite for the fulfilment of the fundamental aim of the Charter — to bring about and preserve lasting peace in the world.

Among the most significant United Nations' achievements in this field, one should stress the action for



setting up a fund to finance the economic development of under-developed countries. Yugoslavia plays an important role in this action, in which a great majority of member-states, and particularly a large group of under-developed countries themselves, are taking part. Although the final aim has not been reached as yet, the action has achieved favourable results in two respects. First, a special UN Fund has been set up, which is a step forward, although it falls short of the original idea in terms of the financial means at its disposal and of providing technical assistance; the more so as the Fund's Statute envisages its expansion and change into one for financing capital development. Second, the idea to set up a UN Economic Development Fund has not only firmly established itself, but some details of its operation, worked out in the United Nations, have already been put into practice in different financial institutions which help economic development outside the United Nations.

Thus the Assembly will be again confronted with the obvious fact that it is necessary to intensify international financing actions in order to speed up the economic development of under-developed countries. What will be done, however, and whether and how quickly „diagnosis“ will be replaced by „treatment“, remains to be seen.

As hitherto, Yugoslavia will continue to pledge herself to the adoption of measures to achieve the earliest and most effective solutions. A series of initiatives in the field of international financing, including one within the framework of the International Bank in the form of International Economic Development Association with a fund of one billion dollars, indicate that the problem has been fully realized, and that ways and means to solve it are being sought.

This year's session is expected to give fresh impetus to the development of the newly-established Special Fund and to help raise its technical assistance fund to the 100 million dollars envisaged by the resolution of its foundation. The funds are now far below that sum. The session will also consider problems involved in the further development of the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme, which has earned high recognition as one of the most successful United Nations actions in this field.

As far as social and humanitarian questions are concerned, discussion will be resumed on the clauses of a Pact on Civil and Political Rights. The agenda of the General Assembly session also includes a Convention on the Freedom of Information, and other items.

## Current Topics

# On the Eve of the Washington Meeting

## — The Results of Eisenhower's Mission in Europe —

by Djordje JERKOVIĆ

THE MEETING between Khrushchev and Eisenhower is only a few days off, so that it is natural that the usual preparations for so important an event are being concluded. Needless to say, these preparations were approached in a different manner in the East and the West: on the Western side they included the extremely strenuous and extensive tour of the US President in Europe, while no intensive movement or consultations in the Eastern community were noticeable after the publication of the agreement to hold the meeting. It seems that at least partial consultations will be held post festum in the East, that is to say, after the meeting, during Khrushchev's announced visit to Peking in October. The various mutual relations within the East, the maintenance of regular and vigorous close contacts as a routine practice, and the somewhat different status of the USSR within the Eastern community than the US position in the West did not render necessary such preliminary consultations as those held by US President during his visits to Bonn, London and Paris.

### CONCILIATING IN BONN

EISENHOWER'S European mission apparently consisted of several stages and consequently proceeded according to a fairly clearcut plan based on the fact that the leading

European allies of the US were rather surprised, offended and hurt by the sudden news of the meeting between the Big Two, so that it was necessary to reassure them and make sure of their approval and support of the intended activity in connection with the USSR. If the US President's trip is contemplated in the light of this task it seems quite natural that he should have begun his tour in Bonn and with Bonn: the conciliating of Adenauer, who stubbornly retreated to a cold war position at the news of the Big Two meeting, for reasons it is unnecessary to repeat here, constituted the easiest and most popular task for Eisenhower. This also put London in a good humour, as the British had been bearing a grudge against Adenauer for some time, and weakened the resistance of Paris, which relied most strongly on Bonn in its revolt.

As might have been expected, the visit to Bonn was a complete success. Instead of opposition Eisenhower met with a flattering reception and readiness for obedient cooperation. The success in Bonn thawed the climate in London, where the arrival of the US President was represented as a family affair and as a sign that the British position in the West and in the world at large was strengthening. It is rightly considered in London that the decision on the Big Two meeting reflects a definite change of policy towards the East which, although



appearing in a way and form which was not welcome in London, nonetheless coincides with British views. It is likewise considered in London that this decision confirms the policy that Great Britain was the first among the Western countries to advocate and pursue at a certain juncture. It was therefore not necessary in London to blunt the edge of British resistance or reserves, but only to allay eventual misgivings and doubts, called forth by the suddenness of the agreement to hold the Big Two meeting, and the absence of the usual preliminary consultations. It was also necessary to offer guarantees to Great Britain that her interests and influence in general, and especially in the sphere of East-West policy, would not be impaired by the Khrushchev-Eisenhower meeting.

### LONDON GETS SATISFACTION

IN AS FAR as may be inferred from the official statements and reliable comments, Great Britain received political and moral satisfaction (within the limits possible in such a situation) and the assurance that as a big power and the nearest relation in the Western family, she would be permanently present during the two power talks. In other words, in accordance with the British views and recommendations, the talks will begin without preliminary conditions, and with the maximum readiness to speak on an equal footing for the purpose of seeking reasonable compromises, and not the extortion of concessions by intimidation. The two-power talks will be opened with the conviction that it is neither possible nor necessary at the present stage to seek direct and concrete solutions or results, but that it is both possible and necessary to achieve a closer identity of views on certain acute problems, such as the various elements and aspects of disarmament, the liberalization of East-West trade and other exchanges. Finally, there exists a desire that the two-power meeting should bring about such progress in the relations between the two blocs — which have been divided by so broad a gap of mutual antagonism over the years — as will pave the way for a meeting at the same level but on a broader basis, namely a summit meeting which would effect the transition from the examination and confrontation of views and their precise formulation to a more concrete quest for and devising of definite agreements and arrangements where they are most urgently needed.

### ANXIETY IN PARIS

THIS, briefly, would constitute the balance sheet of the visit to Bonn and London. It was thus that Eisenhower arrived in Paris, where he finally came to grips with the problems which were generally considered the hardest to solve. He was welcomed in Paris by two considerable demands which were formulated in somewhat caustic and agitated terms, at times resembling an ultimatum: first, that the US and NATO should commit themselves on the French side to a greater extent than so far in her struggle against the revolution in Algeria; and, second, that France enjoy the same status in NATO and the shaping of Western policy and strategy in general as that of the two Anglo-Saxon big powers: in other words that a three-member directorium be formed at the helm of the Western community, with all the consequences this may imply for France.

It does not seem that Eisenhower was obliged to or actually made any major concessions on the second point. The authority of France within the Western community is far from being such as to obtain easy concessions from the Anglo-Saxon powers, least of all in a situation in which the policy of a two-power meeting and the initiative for a more realist policy towards the East sprang from the Anglo-Saxons and was actively opposed by Paris, thus depriving France of the sole genuine possibility of manoeuvring with a view to

softening the U.S. and Great Britain. The prime and principal condition for the success of the French attitude in relation to the Anglo-Saxons is her ability of independent action with regard to the East, the complete emancipation of her national policy, and freedom of action as regards the crucial problems of today. This possibility was shortsightedly overlooked and even rendered impossible by Paris, which opposed all initiative along these lines, thus condemning to failure in advance the efforts to assure equality of status with the US and Great Britain, particularly where the affirmation of the national position of France in Western policy and the world at large is concerned.

While failing as regards the first part of their demands, and having precluded every possibility of manoeuvring, the French achieved nothing more than promises on point two, which are just as vague and uncertain as the new French theses on Algeria.

While moving along the lines of an inevitable and gradual reconciliation with Afro-Asian neutralism during the past few years and accepting as a *fait accompli* an independent non-aligned policy in Africa and Asia which it formerly rejected as unacceptable, the USA are steadily drawing closer to that world and its positions. When faced with the choice between an independent India of Bandung and the aligned Pakistan, for instance, the USA no longer chooses Pakistan so firmly and categorically as before, nor does she do so when confronted by the choice between Siam and Burma, or the independent United Arab Republic and some pro-western country of the New East such as Israel. The USA is no longer able persistently and ruthlessly to ignore the Afro-Asian world, with its policy and aspirations, as she has done in the past, and to repudiate and sacrifice this world on behalf of her coalition with her more or less colonially inclined European allies, who are often the principal opponents of Afro-Asian aspirations and wishes. On the contrary, the USA is seriously seeking ways and means which will enable her to safeguard her position in Europe otherwise than at the expense of a political rapprochement with the Afro-Asian countries. Even at last years UN General Assembly the USA was obliged to abstain for the first time when the vote was cast on Algeria, so as not to take sides in the tragic dispute between Arab Algeria and NATO France. The US position during Eisenhower's arrival to Paris may be inferred from the fact that only a few days before it the conference of the independent African states in Monrovia extended unanimous support to Algeria, while the session of the Arab League which convened in Casablanca a few days later laid still greater stress on the attitudes and theses expounded at Monrovia on behalf of the Arab world.

Thus under the circumstances it is hardly surprising that Paris failed to obtain the desired results with regard to the demand that the US and NATO should embrace the cause of France more strongly than they had done so far. It appears, moreover, that during the discussions of this issue with Eisenhower Paris was placed on the defensive, striving to vindicate the inefficient and unpopular policy pursued so far, rather than impose its own formulae and obtain the concessions required.

Judging by the communiqué issued, and from other sources, the US reply on the Algerian problem boiled down to a promise of conditional support, depending on the liberality and acceptability of the new French political plan, which essentially differs but little from its many predecessors.

### Moderate Optimism

THE RESULTS of his European mission were obviously most accurately summed up by Eisenhower himself in his speech of September 10, after the end of his European trip, and on the eve of his meeting with Khrushchev. During his visits to his allies he succeeded in allaying various misgivings and in weakening resistance in Bonn and Paris to a considerable degree, and assuring the cooperation of London



so that he will appear at the meeting with Khrushchev with the necessary qualifications, not as a negotiator on behalf of the West, but as a representative of a homogeneous Western policy towards the East. Apart from this, Eisenhower is not going to the meeting with the Eastern leaders with the intention of negotiating or bargaining, but with the aim of clarifying and illuminating the intentions of both sides, their attitudes and views as much as possible, so as to see in which spheres and along what lines it is possible and necessary to continue joint efforts leading to more concrete talks which might be opened in the future. While not wishing to be a victim of premature optimism or illusions, Eisenhower in his own words is awaiting this event with a certain degree of optimism and believes that his meeting with Khrushchev, in spite of the restrictions listed, can and should contribute to the improvement of the international climate and world pacification.

Cautiously and in passing, Eisenhower nonetheless mentioned that he would wish the situation as regards to the problem of Germany and Berlin to remain untouched for the time being, and that priority should be assigned to certain aspects of the disarmament problem, nuclear experiments, stocks etc., as well as the broadening of East-West contacts, including trade.

This is borne out by most information on the Western views received so far.

That both sides would wish for such an order of discussion is confirmed to a certain extent by the agreement reached on the setting up of a ten-member disarmament committee on the basis of mutual East-West parity outside UNO. Such a method of settling the most acute and universal international problem could hardly bear criticism by those who consider UNO the most suitable place for its deliberation, disarmament being by no means a matter of the two bloc groups, as it involves universal interests and responsibilities, so that a broader basis than the ten-member formula should be found, to say the least. This is taken to indicate the wish of the two sides to find new ways and forms of mutual relations different than those belonging to the cold war period, when the language used was one of threats, intimidation and force, and is doubtless a favourable symptom.

CONTEMPLATED as a whole, it may be said in conclusion that the line of policy adopted which led to the agreement on the Big-Two meeting marks the beginning of a possible aboutturn in international relations. If this course is pursued consistently in the future, provided it does not tend to by-pass UNO and its Charter it will — notwithstanding its slowness and the modesty of the initial results — help the world to emerge from the hopeless situation brought about by the cold war and armaments race policies. Following this line of policy, the countries of East and West will more or less consciously recognize and adopt the principles and spirit of coexistence as the starting point in mutual relations and contacts, and as an objective towards which they must strive in common if they wish to save the world from the terrors of war. It would be more than tragic if such a positive line of policy were impaired or hindered by deviations at the expense of the United Nations and its role in the international community, at the expense of the interests of the small, underdeveloped countries, or of those absent from international conferences or negotiations in general.

The tour of the US President brought the necessary preparations in the West for the forthcoming Big-Two meeting to an end. Considering the course and results from close range a few days after its conclusion, it may be affirmed that this mission was marked by a certain rallying in the Western ranks, on the lines of a sober approach to the East. Only time will show whether this orientation will contribute to the peaceful settlement of outstanding issues with the East. This will also depend to a considerable extent on the further attitude and activities of UNO and that independent policy which first heralded and paved the way for meetings and contacts between the antagonistic groups. This policy mostly appears as a modest and unobtrusive, but persistent and efficacious motive force in the United Nations and elsewhere as it firmly believes in the force of moral factors and principles in international policy, and the inevitable victory of common sense.

## Crisis in Laos

by N. DUBRAVČIĆ

FOR the second time in a year South-East Asia is undergoing a serious crisis. This time the crisis has made its appearance in Laos but, as in earlier cases, it seems quite certain, in spite of contradictory interpretations and the lack of reliable information as to the actual state of affairs, that the conflict there is actually a clash between the Asian policy of neutrality and the threatened interests of privileged groups representing the policy of foreign great powers. As this is really a case of a purely internal conflict too minor to cause special anxiety in the outside world, the excitement aroused by it in Western capitals is not in proportion to the events in the Northern provinces of Laos. There is no doubt that the affair is being artificially dramatized, and therein lies the real cause for anxiety. Though the crisis in Laos is not in itself a serious or alarming disturbance which might place the peace of a wider region of South-East Asia in jeopardy, a real danger does exist because this crisis has given rise to a tendency and an attempt to aggravate and extend it, to involve this

small country, which has only just gained independent status, in foreign political interests, and to make its internal troubles the cause of international conflict.

This circumstance has presented the Security Council with an exceptionally important task. Without discussing whether the noticeably urgent summoning of the members of this organ of the United Nations was justified or not — bearing in mind that there already exists one international body with the task of watching the armistice in Indochina — United Nations activity, as it has already started, should be directed towards objective confirmation of the state of affairs, and to the putting into effect of the proposals of the Geneva conference on Indochina. The very fact that the Security Council has limited its activity to sending a commission of enquiry made up of representatives of Japan, Italy, Argentina and Tunisia to examine the actual situation on the spot shows that even this body is not well-informed of the real situation in Laos. For this reason, as well as because of the danger that



the crisis might be aggravated by foreign influences, the basic mission of the Security Council should be to quell the conflict and find a way out in accordance with the Geneva obligations, and above all to prevent harmful foreign interference.

The crisis in Laos has its roots in the ignoring of the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Indochina. By this the former French Protectorate of Laos gained the status of an independent state, but with definite obligations. In the first place, the Laos government accepted the obligation not to participate in any coalition of a military nature with foreign powers, but to pursue a policy of neutrality. The Laos government and the Pathet Lao movement, which led the struggle for liberation in the northern parts of the country, consented to make an agreement by which the liberated provinces should be integrated into the state of Laos, and the armed units of Pathet Lao into the Royal Laos Army. This agreement gave Pathet Lao, as a political movement, full freedom of action on the whole territory of Laos and permitted its representatives to enter the government. Pathet Lao formed a political party, the Neo Lao Haksat, which gained a third of the votes at the first election, so that its representatives entered the coalition government of Suvan Fuma.

An international Commission consisting of representatives of India, Poland and Canada was set up to guarantee that the Geneva conclusions should be put into force, and so that the cease-fire in Indochina should be maintained. But at the very moment when it was most needed, this mechanism failed. When the coalition government had been formed the tripartite control commission announced its own dissolution, believing that its mission in Laos was completed. This was soon proved to be a mistake, however, for not long after the dissolution of the commission the right-wing forces in Laos began to disregard the articles of the Geneva agreement. Sananikon, the new Prime Minister, dismissed the members of Neo Lao Haksat from the government, and began to hunt down its adherents in the country, later taking steps to remove the influence of Pathet Lao in the army too. At the same time Sananikon's government abandoned the position of neutrality to which the Geneva Agreement had obliged it, entering into closer relations with the USA, it began to use American military and economic aid to build a regime, which became an actual pillar of SEATO-policy in South-East Asia. In the American press, for example, it was openly stated that Laos had entered the sphere of interest of the SEATO pact, and therefore had the support of that military bloc.

This situation, of course, caused a reaction from the Pathet Lao side, which saw in this rejection of the Geneva principles an attack on its position. It was not till May this year, however, that open conflict broke out, when the government imprisoned the leaders of Neo Lao Haksat and called on the units of the Pathet Lao to lay down their arms immediately. All requests that the tripartite control commission should be recalled, including the Indian Premier's appeal, were unsuccessful, because of the negative attitude of the Laos government and the Western powers. If the control commission had been given the opportunity to take adequate action the crisis in Laos would probably not have occurred, and even if it had it is quite certain that its development would have been different and less disturbing. It appears that those powers whose advantage is not served by the stabilization of an anti-colonial and neutrally independent policy in South-East Asia have made use of the lack of control mechanism to sabotage the Geneva agreement.

The internal conflict in Laos has become a focus of more serious danger just because of foreign interference, especially that of the Americans which has led to definite activity from the opposite side, from Northern Vietnam and China, who support the Pathet Lao movement, an who, as signatories of the Geneva agreement, feel themselves injured by the development of events in Laos. Thus this crisis, which is purely an internal affair of Laos and which the people of Laos

must solve themselves in the interest of their peaceful development and independence, has been made the centre of a propaganda battle, using the methods and policy of the cold war. Recent experiences have shown that it is just such a policy, this fatal game played by the great powers and blocs, that has caused the greatest damage to the people of this region, opposing their internal transformation and slowing down the emergence of an independent Asian policy.

India which, as a former member of the control commission, feels certain obligations, and which best understands the danger of foreign interference in Laos affairs, has continued to contribute to the lessening of tension, but some circles in the world are showing just the opposite tendency, and are adding fuel to the flames by, reviving old passions and mutual accusations, with the obvious intention of transforming the dispute in Laos into an international conflict. Any aggravation of the situation would not only harm the people of Laos and the regional interests of this part of the world, but would also be to the disadvantage of wider international interests, especially today, when significant international events have made gradual concord in the world possible. If nothing else, this circumstance makes it incumbent on the great powers to act seriously and responsibly towards Laos, to approach this problem without narrow bloc aims, and to make the solving of the crisis their primary task. If Laos is bound to apply and respect the articles of the Geneva agreement, then the other powers must to no less an extent respect the spirit of Geneva and direct their efforts towards re-establishing and strengthening peace and independence in South-East Asia.

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# International Repercussions of the Policy of Subsidizing Agriculture

by Marijan HUBENY

THE POLICY of subsidizing agriculture followed by the industrially developed countries, as well as the whole system of foreign-trade measures which necessarily accompany such a policy, has had an effect on the general state and progress of trade in agricultural products. As the highly-developed countries are the most important markets for agricultural products such measures must have an effect on the level, structure and tendencies in international trade in agricultural products. The more world trade increased in the post-war period the more the index of increase in trade in agricultural products lagged behind that of general world trade. Thus, although the trend towards economic activity influences international exchange, the countries which are exporters of agricultural products did not take a corresponding part in the post-war rise in economic activity. That means they are the first to suffer from unfavourable effects on the level of their foreign trade, when stagnation or decline in economic activity in highly-developed countries takes place. In other words, through foreign trade industrially-developed countries transfer the burden of their economic equilibrium to the countries which are exporters of agricultural products, among which the majority of under-developed countries is numbered. That is why the problem of world equilibrium is mainly how to end such a situation. Some international organizations are taking parallel action in this direction. The Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) made some investigations in order to find an international platform for the solution of this problem and the results which such a situation creates.

The backwardness of trade in agricultural products is explained by the fact that elasticity of demand for agricultural products allegedly declines as national income rises. Efforts are made to illustrate this fact by a number of analyses of the trend of national income and demand for agricultural products. It is not taken into account, however, that even in industrially developed countries, because of the relatively high prices of agricultural products, there are many categories of people whose essential needs in food are far from being satisfied. The policy of subsidizing agriculture in those countries, which means the maintenance of relatively high prices, in fact leads to subsidizing those branches of agricultural production whose production cost is relatively higher than is the case in countries having better conditions in this respect. This creates such an artificial social division of work in world agriculture as affects those countries which are not able to provide means from their national income for subsidizing agriculture. The state policy of subsidizing agriculture covers one-third of the gross products of agriculture in Great Britain, while in some countries of Western Europe—in France and West Germany—it covers about 70%. But this percentage in the latter two countries does not show the actual degree of protection their agriculture enjoys, for the system of subsidizing agriculture is based on other principles than those of Great Britain, and the main burden of such a policy is transferred directly to the consumer. The expenditures of the

policy of subsidizing agriculture in USA reach about 1,000 million dollars per year.

The motives for the policy of subsidizing agriculture are various. Since the time of the great economic crisis in the thirties up to now it has evolved from occasional and single measures in the highly-developed countries into a more or less complete system. If we suppose that in the beginning the ruling circles in those countries wanted to help the medium and small landowner, today, under the protection of these measures, such a concentration of land and capital in agriculture has been carried out that certain categories of landowners have succeeded in technically reorganizing their estates to such an extent that they have reached a level of productivity which does not lag behind industry. The whole policy of subsidizing agriculture has lost its original stabilizing effect and assumed an openly protectionist character. Strictly internal markets of agricultural products are formed and the internal prices of agricultural products are not influenced by the trends of prices on the world market. Thus the price the Swiss peasant is paid for wheat is nearly double the world price. In some European countries the price for wheat is 25% higher than the world price. It is very difficult to define the level of protection for other agricultural products. But it seems probable that the degree of protection is even higher, especially for dairy products, meat and sugar. The rise in agricultural production which is achieved is not the result of favourable comparative expenditures but of protectionist measures. Besides this, certain agricultural products are added to the state trade monopoly through measures of customs defence, some other taxes on various foreign agricultural products from tropical and sub-tropical regions, thus limiting their consumption.

Without describing the functioning of the system of subsidizing agriculture in particular countries, two conclusions may be arrived at. First, that in highly developed countries there exists strong agrarian protectionism, and second, that the development of production and consumption of agricultural products in those countries shows that net import is gaining

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The editors of the „Review of International Affairs“ kindly request our readers to send their observations, wishes and objections concerning the general conception of the review, the amount of space allotted to the individual columns and subjects especially those relating to the Yugoslav reality, the treatment of individual subject and quality of the articles, style, language etc., to the editorial office, Beograd, Jovanova 16. The editors thank the readers in advance for the valuable assistance thus extended.



more and more marginal importance in their total production and consumption.

Percentage of consumption covered by home production in the OEEC countries has changed as follows (in percentages)

	Prewar	1953/54-1955/56
Wheat	74	83
Fodder	73	80
Sugar	54	73
Meat	88	94
Oils and fats	52	55

To meet by import the consumption on the prewar indexes of European countries it would be necessary to increase the import of food stuffs to the value of 2,000 million dollars. The combined effect of the above-mentioned facts shows that agrarian protectionism in highly developed countries is the main factor in the stagnation of trade in agricultural products. This last conclusion illustrates clearly the general course of import of agricultural products and raw materials of agricultural origin in industrially developed countries. The net import of foodstuffs in the countries of Western Europe and North America was 11% in 1938, and of raw materials of agricultural origin 38% of their national consumption; in 1956 the corresponding percentages were 4% and 27.5%. The net import of agricultural products decreased not only relatively but absolutely. If the agricultural production in those countries falls by 1% of the level in 1956, and consumption increases by 1%, then net import of those two fields would increase by 20%. These considerations show that great opportunities exist for an increase in trade between industrially developed and undeveloped countries, if the agrarian protectionism of industrially developed countries were slightly reduced. The creation of the "European Economic Community" aggravates the situation, for the agrarian protectionism of West Germany, France and Italy will spread over far greater areas, which among other measures will apply preferential methods or import from regions depending on them. As a result, discrimination in foreign trade will affect a far greater number of countries. In the present situation of falling prices of agricultural products and greater competition between the countries which export agricultural products, the significance of protected and secured markets gains in importance. Surpluses of agricultural products appear there as well, so that there is small probability that any eventual increase in their economic activity will affect the increase in need for importing agricultural products.

It is obvious that no one international organization can prescribe its internal economic policy for a member country, or that is a sovereign right of each individual country. But every international organization is obliged, to draw attention, within the sphere of its activity, to certain facts in international life and their cause, which affect other countries and which result from the definite policy of a particular country or group of countries. In this sense the GATT group of experts was clearer than the FAO group. The GATT group of experts clearly pointed out the reasons for the decline in trade in agricultural products and at the same time described the repercussions the existing situation, if continued, might have in the equilibrium of world trade, while the FAO experts, who have been dealing with this problem since 1954, had not the courage to face this fact clearly and give it its proper name.

It is very interesting to analyse today the policy of subsidizing agriculture, because there is no country that does not pursue this policy in this or the other way, though motives may vary. The methods applied also differ according to the country. But every policy of subsidizing agriculture need not inevitably cause unfavourable international repercussions. Such repercussions are not the result of internal prices

being higher than world prices — on which FAO experts have wasted most of their time — for internal prices are a result of a definite policy, of a definite relationship between the social forces in a particular country, and this policy need not be identical with progressive events in world economy. It is not the same thing if an underdeveloped country makes a provisional rise in prices of agricultural products in order to stimulate agricultural production, and if this is done by an industrialized country in whose economy agriculture, in any case, does not play an important rôle, and which has always been a large importer of agricultural products. A number of countries which have not yet reached such a level of economic development rely on these importing possibilities for as long as their economic development depends on incomes made by exporting only certain articles. Unfavourable international repercussions are felt when, because of the policy of the industrially developed countries, the demand for imports declines, or in other words when the burden of subsidizing the already advanced agriculture is intended to be transferred completely to the consumers in that particular country, or to countries which are interested in the export of agricultural products to such countries. Such a policy may suit these countries for a short time, but if considered on a long-term basis it must lead, sooner or later, to the limitation of their export possibilities. In this way, if such a policy is continued, the equilibrium of the world economy may be upset. This year's conference of FAO has to define, on the basis of the proposals of the experts, "the leading principles in the policy of subsidizing agriculture". If agreement is not reached, there may be a danger that the other countries will be forced to take measures in defence of their interests, which are similar to those today being applied by industrially developed countries, and which would certainly not be in the general interest.

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## Deterioration of Relations between India and China

by R. K.

THE NEWS of border incidents on the Indo-Chinese frontier has caused considerable surprise and made a very unpleasant impression on world opinion. The reasons for this are, firstly, because the two greatest countries of Asia are concerned — countries whose co-operation in the spirit of the principles of co-existence is a pioneering attempt to build up relations between the independent Asian countries in concordance with their most vital interests and to secure economic progress and peace in this large part of the world, secondly, the worsening of relations between India and China would have a far-reaching effect on the further development of the situation in Asia which, in any case, has long been the centre of international tension, and would automatically lead to a sharper crisis in international relations; and thirdly, the border incidents on the Indo-Chinese border and the worsening of relations between the two countries have occurred just at a time when serious attempts are being made to strengthen trust and co-operation between the Great Powers, and to remove the relics of the cold war from the world scene.

If this is considered, it is quite certain that the basic motives for the border incidents and the subsequent mutual recriminations will not be found in the possible importance of the border areas under dispute, especially as we know that they concern the North-East frontier of India — the impassible Himalayan regions — where an uninhabited mountain valley on one or the other side of the frontier could have no economic, strategic or any other importance. In any case, in these countries moving the frontier in one or the other direction would be to their national areas like a drop in the ocean. With a little good-will and without the application of onesided actions and brute force even more serious disputes could be resolved on the basis of the five principles of co-existence and in the spirit of Bandung. It is obvious, therefore, that the border incidents in the Himalayan regions are rather the *result* of a particular intention than the *cause* of a new state of affairs.

The most recent history of relations between India and China shows that they have made excellent progress, especially since the meetings between Nehru and Chou En Lai in 1954 and 1956. The policy of good-neighbour relations and cordiality was threatened for the first time only after the well-known events in Tibet. Although India watched the development of events in Tibet with unusual coolness, with no evidenced intention of interfering in internal Chinese affairs, the Chinese side attacked New Delhi rather

severely on several occasions. The border incidents occurred after these events and naturally there is a definite connection between them. Besides this, the incidents in the Himalayas as a *method* quite opposed to the peaceful solution of disputes, cannot be considered separately from certain manifestations in the policy of Peking, which are inconsistent with a constructive approach to problems of international co-operation. Neither can the incidents be separated from the recent initiatives in Moscow-Washington relations, with which they coincide, and on which they must have a certain influence.

World opinion is convinced that good-will and clear thinking will overcome both the basic and the secondary causes of the worsening of relations between India and China, and that pressure and threats will give way to negotiation. This would certainly be in the interest of both countries, of Asia in general, and of the peace of the world. As India, an eminent supporter of the non-bloc policy and a synonym for a peace-loving country and people, has always shown unusual understanding of Peking's views and aspirations, it would be natural to expect that Peking should show more goodwill in relations with New Delhi, which was the first to recognise the creation of the new Chinese state, consistently supported the Chinese demands regarding Formosa, and persistently called for United Nations acceptance of China.

The Macmahon Line, defined in 1914, forms the frontier between China and India for about 1,300 kilometres. India considers this line as her legal border with China. From the correspondence between Nehru and Chou En Lai published in the Indian White Book it can be seen that even in 1954 there were talks between the two premiers on this frontier line, and that the Chinese Premier was then in favour of the existing frontier. However, in the geographical maps which have been recently appearing in China, the Macmahon Line is not respected, and certain parts of Indian territory are treated as a part of China. Peking's replies to occasional Indian protests were limited to the assertion that they were reproductions of old maps. Finally, twenty days ago Chinese troops entered the Indian territory of Kashmir and Butan and caused the worsening of the situation on the frontier between China and India. Premier Nehru's attitude can be outlined as follows: India will resolutely defend the integrity of her territory, but she will do everything possible to solve the dispute with China by means of negotiation.

The Chinese government, however, refuses to accept the Macmahon Line. And while she is attacking India China declares her willingness to solve the dispute by negotiation



# Stabilizing the Economy in Indochina

by N. O.

RECENTLY, on August 25, all shops and markets in Djakarta, the capital of Indonesia, were closed, and the banks, savings-banks and government offices were ordered to list all the money held according to its nominal value. A little later, Radio Djakarta interrupted its programme to announce the Government's decision to reform the currency. Holders of large stocks of cash were surprised by this unexpected act of devaluation, but a large section of the people welcomed the first measure of the new administration towards stabilizing the economic and financial situation in the country. Similarly, the leaders of economic circles in South-East Asia have considered the devaluation of the rupee as the first inevitable step of Sukarno's guided democracy on the road to the economic recovery of Indonesia.

When we look at it in connection with recent political and economic measures, the monetary reform signifies the start of a new fiscal policy in Indonesia. This was a special devaluation which, unlike a general one, affected only bank-notes of 500 and 1,000 rupees. The value of these bank-notes was reduced by 90%, whereas the value of smaller bank-notes remained unchanged. Simultaneously, 90% of all savings accounts exceeding the sum of 25,000 rupees was frozen. By this new devaluation the exchange rate between the rupee and the American dollar was changed, and is now 15 to the dollar instead of 155 to the dollar as previously.

The immediate aim of this operation is to stop inflation and prevent financial and commercial speculation, which had been continued as a relic of the old colonial regime, even during the transition period. Recently, various forms of such speculation have been gaining in strength, more easily because of both the unstable economic situation and the strong position of foreign capital, and have been endangering the normal progress of economy and commerce. Thus the currency reform affects only a definite section of financiers, rich men, speculators and foreign capital in Indonesia, while its social aspect lies in the fact that the broadest section of the workers and producers will feel the benefit of it.

The long-term aims of the currency reform, however,

are of even greater economic and political significance. In conjunction with the new measures which have been announced, it should lead to radical changes in the policy and structure of imports and exports. This intervention is making a deep change in the basic structure of the economy so that a basis for the transformation of the inherited one-sided colonial economy into a balanced national economy may gradually and steadily be created. In this respect the currency reform is the first serious blow to the ruling conception of economic liberalism. It is a logical continuation of the evolution of the country's political system, which was made possible by returning to the revolutionary charter of 1945.

As is known, in attaining her independence Indonesia inherited the inadequate forms of a multi-party parliamentary democracy. For such a young country, under-developed and backward, with specific geographical and social characteristics and great needs, demanding the concentration and unity of all national forces, a political system of the Western type has proved an obstacle to the solution of its current problems of development. Instead of uniting the national energy and canalizing it towards conquering backwardness in various spheres of life, bearing in mind domestic needs and conditions, such a system has aimlessly wasted this energy in party disputes, quarrels and riots.

In the economic field, the inherited practice of economic liberalism has prevented the planned concentration of material and financial means for constructing the essential branches of a new and modern national economy. For this reason the economic development of Indonesia, even in conditions of independence, has not managed to progress beyond the one-sided economy that served during colonial rule to provide the industrial countries with raw materials. Only the recent political reforms — the rejection of parliamentary liberalism and the switch-over to a system of guided democracy — have created conditions for a stronger intervention by the state in economic life. The currency reform is merely the first step in that direction. It should stabilize the economic and financial situation, thus making it possible to take even more effective measures towards the creation of a modern economy in which all branches could develop equally.

## Conservative or Labour Government?

by R. KOZARAC

AN ELECTION has always been a leading political event in the social history of Great Britain; and on October 8, 1959 it will answer the question whether a Conservative or a Labour government will be in power for the next five years in the Palace of Westminster, and if Her Majesty's Prime Minister will continue to be Harold Macmillan or whether this responsible office will fall to his opponent, Hugh Gaitskell. Even if the differences between the Conservatives and Socialists are greater in theory than practice, a review of the election prospects is by no means

only of academic interest — either for the British people or for world politics.

*The post-war election.* During the war Great Britain was steered by the Conservatives, and their leader, Winston Churchill, became a national hero. This was, of course, a great political advantage to the Tories in the first post-war elections in 1945, but in spite of it the Labour Party gained a great and apparently unexpected victory. The voters' desire for a change had something to do with it, of course, but the decisive factor in the triumph of the Labour Party was its



programme for the construction of a social welfare state, with the main accent on the nationalization of certain sections of industry. Five years later, in 1950, the Socialists lost more than 150 seats. Considerable economic difficulties, many caused by consequences of the war, reduced the popularity of the Labour Party, which had pulled the chestnuts out of the fire. In the following year a new election was held, and the Conservatives came to power, but with a majority which did not give them much advantage over the Labour opposition. At the next election, in 1955, the Conservatives were successful in trebling the majority which they had gained four years earlier, primarily because the economic difficulties of the first decade after the war had been conquered to a considerable extent.

*Points for and against the Conservatives.* Having 344 members at Westminster — as against 278 Socialists, 6 Liberals and 2 Irish Republicans — the Conservatives had a free hand during the last government over affairs of state. On the international scene this period lies between the first significant results in the lessening international tension reached after the Geneva Conference of heads of governments, and present initiatives which should lead to a new meeting between the highest representatives of the Great Powers. During the many vicissitudes which marked this interval a considerable number of points were registered both for and against British diplomacy. As an active participant in the Suez affair, as the cause of unpleasant events in the African colonies, as a competitor in the nuclear arms race and so on, British diplomacy has often entered the blind alley of a shortsighted policy. On the other hand, on the credit side the Conservative government can register the efforts of Macmillan to achieve the lessening of tension in the world and the strengthening of trust between the Great Powers, by accepting methods of negotiation and discussion between the leading statesmen of the East and West. The positive achievement reached in Cyprus should not be ignored, nor should the considerably more elastic approach to the situation in Asia, especially in connection with the Commonwealth. On the internal scene the Macmillan government has succeeded to a certain extent in stabilizing prices and salaries. By increasing the gold reserves it has strengthened the economic position of Great Britain. Unemployment, however, though less in recent months, is still rather high and the general economic policy is far from satisfying to the average British citizen.

Being in opposition, the Labour Party has naturally been gaining or losing in the eyes of the voters more through words than deeds. Their programme of social reform is far from evoking enthusiasm. Often inconsistent and incomplete, this programme is not one which could provide a clear and sharp alternative to the Tory economic policy. Though this appears paradoxical, the Socialists have been much more consistent in formulating their international programme, and in stressing those differences which give their policy certain advantages over that of the Conservatives. In both cases they have cleverly made use of the Government's weak points: the rise in the cost of living, the conflict in economy, defects in the system of pensions and social services etc. The Labour Party gained a significant moral and political advantage when they decisively opposed the Suez adventure. By condemning the use of force as a method for preserving the *status quo* in the Near East and Africa the Socialists strengthened their position, but they were compelled to be merely onlookers during the important international events where Macmillan amassed trump-cards, for his election debut.

*Chances of the principal rival.* As can be seen, the political score up to date gives certain chances to both sides, but in forecasting the electoral result the promises which a party uses in the electoral struggle also constitute a significant factor. Macmillan, who by visiting Moscow opened the way to a whole series of further meetings between statesmen, has made excellent use of the rôle of arbitrator,

and of his recent meeting with Eisenhower. He is considered today as a well-qualified person for meetings on the highest level, as one who can represent the interests of Great Britain with the greatest authority. The recent meeting between Gaitskell and Bevan and Khrushchev in Moscow has been overshadowed to a considerable extent, and the Labour opinion that Gaitskell is still more authorized to take part in summit meetings is based on the argument that the Socialists were the first and most consistent initiators of contacts between the highest statesmen of East and West. Whatever their position may be in this regard, the Labour Party's trump-cards are their proposals to create an atom-free zone in Europe (both Germanies, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary), to extricate the Middle East from the cold-war policy, to renounce for Great Britain the use of nuclear weapons (if the non-nuclear club is created), to accept China in the United Nations and return Quemoy, Matsu and the other inshore islands to China. Their inconsistencies in formulating a nuclear policy, which were revealed at the recent Trades Union Congress, are, of course, a considerable handicap to them.

Professional forecasters favour the Conservative Party. The very fact that the election has been announced at this time, although the statutory term of the present government does not end until May next year, shows that the Conservatives have chosen the most advantageous moment for themselves. But although this advantage should not be underestimated, there are still components in the electoral mathematics of 35 million British voters which cannot be fixed in advance, especially as in Britain there is a tendency to vote against a particular party rather than for one. Out of the 630 seats many are „safe“ for either Labour or Conservative, but some are „doubtful“ or even „unsafe“. The Liberals would be in the picture only if the electoral body were equally divided and thus only in this respect do they come into consideration when the question of whether Great Britain will be led in the next five years by the Conservatives or Socialists, by Macmillan or Gaitskell, is being discussed.

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# Individual and General Interests in Socialism

by Dr. Jovan DJORDJEVIĆ

SOCIALISM, especially scientific socialism, not only admits, but scientifically explains the existence and reality of personal and general interest in every class of society, and hence also in a socialist one. It is a great merit of scientific socialism that it discovered the simultaneous necessity, synthesis and transcendence of these two categories of interests. By so doing socialism not only liberated human thought and science from one-sidedness, from the exaggerations of naive individual liberalism and authoritative etatism and absolutism, but laid down the principles and framework for the solution and overcoming of contradictions between individual and general interests. Hence there can be no true socialism that does not recognize and realize these two categories of interests, and that does not foresee the conditions for transcending their dialectical unity. Socialism is diluted into a naive petit bourgeois "idyll" or anarchy if it fails to grasp the necessity of general interests, and the factors which are qualified to represent and assure them temporarily, that is to say, if society as a whole is reduced to individual interests, general property to group and personal property, and the state to a regime of "democracy for all". Socialism is gradually mutilated if it does not recognize, at all stages, the need for the independent existence of personal interests, individual freedom and freedoms, if it substitutes general property by state property and free social relations by administrative ones, if it substitutes socialist development by the imperative of government authority. The categorical imperative of etatism is equally alien to socialism as the categorical imperative of petit bourgeois and abstract liberalism and individualism. This does not mean, however, that socialism fails to recognize the appropriate role and form of etatism, namely the organized political authority of the majority, i.e., the working people. Nor does it mean that socialism does not restore the role and value of the human personality of the producer and active citizen, that is, that it does not represent a kind of renaissance and transcending of consistent humanist individualism and liberalism.

Contrary to various vulgar theories, socialism does not conceive society either as an abstraction or as an organic entity. According to socialism society is an aggregation and system of relationships among people, based on a given type of ownership over the means of production, a given system of distribution of social resources and the recognition of the status of the producer and the individual. Consequently, socialism as a scientific theory is based on mankind and finds its explanation of social history in the history of mankind. Marx stressed that Man constitutes the key to every scientific interpretation of society. As a realist social system socialism

stresses and must stress the fundamental role and importance of human beings, members of the corresponding classes and, later, to an ever greater extent, members of the socialist community of producers: human beings who are at the same time an expression of the social relations under which they live and also the architects of these relations; human beings with all their historical and social heritages, their biological, psychological and intellectual characteristics; human beings who are part of nature and under given conditions may become anything, but who as such are essentially a part of nature and of their own history, so that no one can be more than they are nor what they are.

Just as it does not idealize man, socialism also does not idealize general interests. Socialism as a scientific view of life strives to discover and explain the truth regarding man and society. As a realist system it aims at the gradual liberation of man from all types of exploitation and domination, and is aware of the fact that this is a difficult, arduous and never-ending process, a process in which man may be gradually liberated but never definitively. This process can only be liberating if man is an increasingly interested and conscious protagonist of social activity. There can be no socialism without the gradual liberation of man, and there can be no liberation of man without collective effort, individual work and an active, decisive position in society.

This process, namely the liberation of man — socialism — is already in progress at present, notwithstanding the mutability of the society which is being built, and the fact that it is still of a class character, marred by various contradictions, imperfections, conflicts, remnants of the past and new difficulties and limitations conditioned by the general material, social and political development of the modern countries. Such a society requires the apparatus of political power and a certain guidance and organization of the activities, interests and aspirations of group of citizens. In such a society the state, as the official representative of authority and given public functions is invested with a specific role. Such a society must have its political organizations and other organized forums which express the interests and needs of society and the citizens, mostly in an indirect manner. This society also has its general interests, which are mainly expressed by the state and the corresponding institutions and forums, which are invested with a ruling or guiding position in the political and social processes.

Every general interest which is being fulfilled within the framework of class and other contradiction and conflicts and through the state and other official machinery is in a certain



sense isolated from society, and strive to become a „higher“ and even independent interest. The more the state becomes an absolute and „higher category of society“ in theory and practice, the greater the danger of the alienation of general interests from society or, in other words, from the free social and individual activities. If the state itself modifies and reduces its functions in favour of free social and human activities, the general interests are transformed into the common and individual interests of the producers and citizens. It is in this light that the need for the so-called withering away of etatism and direct democracy in a socialist society should be contemplated.

The essence of socialist society on this plane consists in the elimination of the antitheses between general and personal interests. This process evolves in two basic directions.

It is necessary to bring the general interests as close as possible to the average level of the personal interests of the citizens, or at least of the majority of citizens. Socialism produces for human needs and transforms the producers into the owners of the means of production and the products of labour. In socialism the general interest is justified, if it corresponds to the general needs and interests of the citizens, the more it is realist and objective, and the less it is subjective and abstract. It is not and cannot be a manifestation of the existence or concept of a higher and transcendental interest isolated from the interests of man. If it is not identified with the synthesis of all personal interests, the general interest is devoid of justification. In other words it must express the personal interests to the objectively possible maximum degree, confirm them, and lead to their complete although indirect fulfillment.

Such a substance of the general interest and such a relationship towards the personal interests presuppose special conditions for the expression and advocacy of general interests. Individuals, the administration, and the centralised state and political bodies cannot be the only and, in principle, not even the most important factors through which the general interest is expressed. The general interest in socialism must be formulated by an ever-greater number of citizens, and at all levels of social and political organization, in all fields of economic, political and public life.

In view of the foregoing, social relations which guarantee the liberation of labour and the producer from a hired labour relationship and domination by the private and public owner of the means of production is of vital significance for socialism. Social ownership of the means of production essentially represents a unity of contradictions between general and personal interests. This contradiction, may potentially lead to the predominance of one or the other side of this dialectical unity. The state form of ownership of the means of production and hired labour relations in production provide the basis for the negation of personal interests and imply the primacy of the general interests, in the guise of higher and exclusive interests. This is an etatist and ultimately bureaucratic solution of this contradiction. The transformation of social ownership into group ownership, thus denying the importance of general interests, would provide an anarcho-trade unionist solution of this contradiction.

Socialism resolves this contradiction by the continuous socialisation of social relations and processes, so as to assure the maximum interest of the citizens and their direct participation. Yugoslav social theory and practice lay down certain principles and instruments for such a solution of the antithesis between general and personal interests. These principles are as follows:

a) social ownership of the means of production is indissolubly linked with worker's management in the economy;

b) social ownership of the means of production provides the basis not only of the individual and collective right of the producers to management in economy, but also of their right to the appropriation of a certain part of the social and individual products of labour;

c) the political organization of socialism must consist of the genuine and direct self-government of the working people, not only for the purpose of fulfilling their political function and that of the citizens, but also with a view to broadening the sphere of the free economic and social activity of man, and limiting the alienation of general and personal interests.

The instruments which assure the fulfillment of these principles and contribute to the socialist solution of the antithesis between general and personal interests may be diverse, and may depend on the specific historical conditions of the individual countries, and the over-all level of development reached. Some, for a certain time at least, have acquired a well-high universal character through the Yugoslav practice. This refers to workers' councils, the de-etatisation of education, science, culture and other public services, the system of local government in the communes, the guarantee of the classical and new democratic personal rights of the working man and the people. Socialist direct and mass democracy constitutes that newly-found mechanism which contributes to the elimination of the existing contradictions, between general and personal interests, through the expansion of the sphere of material and moral interests of the citizens, the development of free social and personal activities of the people, and the rapprochement of general and common interests.

The second line of action adopted in the elimination of the contradiction between personal and general interests is more radical, and consists of the overcoming of this autonomy by the creation of an ever broader sphere of common interests. Common interests enable the transformation of general interests of the people. But workers' management, the remunerative, a group, a local community and, finally, the general social community, or society as a whole. The concepts of common interests are created by socialist social theory, and their fulfillment depends on the material and spiritual wealth of socialism. The withering away of the state, the promotion of personal ownership based on the ever-greater abundance and variety of consumer goods, a more civilised and happier life for man, his liberation from external alienation, domination, exploitation and anarchy — these are the ways chosen for the transformation of general interests into the common interests of the people. But workers' management, the remuneration of producers according to their personal and collective work, self-government in the commune and society in gene-



al — all these also constitute various ways and means for the gradual overcoming of general interests, especially in their statist form, thus assuming the character of common interests.

Every more stable and developed social and political system in socialism inevitably assures conditions enabling the advent of those social forces which provide the motive force for the elimination of contradictions between the general interests in both directions.

Socialist scientific theory, in conformity with the material possibilities and conditions of practice, explains the character and relationship of personal, general and common interests in socialism, and indicates the forms and directions of their solution in favour of the needs, rights and interests of humanity. In socialism Man must always be clearly discerned in the background of every general interest.

## Documents

### COMMUNIQUE ON YUGOSLAV-GREEK TALKS

*The Yugoslav-Greek talks were ended in Beograd Sept. 12th and the following joint statement published on that occasion:*

„At the invitation of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia, the Greek Vice Premier Panayotis Canelopoulos paid an official visit to Yugoslavia as a guest of Vice President Mijalko Todorović from September 6 to 13, 1959. Vice Premier Canelopoulos was accompanied by Minister of Trade, Leonidas Dertilis.

At the talks held during the visit Yugoslavia was represented by Mijalko Todorović, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council, Dr Marijan Breclj, Secretary of State for Trade and Federal Executive Council member, Ljubo Babić, President of the Foreign Trade Committee and Federal Executive Council member and their associates, while Greece was represented by Vice Premier Panayotis Canelopoulos, Minister of Trade Leonidas Dertilis, Department Chief in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Minister Plenipotentiary, Constantine Limarios and their associates.

The Yugoslav Ambassador to Greece Mita Miljković and the Greek Ambassador to Yugoslavia Thrasibulos Tsakolotos were also present at the talks.

Various questions of common interest, especially those

pertaining to the sphere of Yugoslav-Greek economic relations and their further promotion were examined at the talks which were held in the spirit of sincere friendship that characterizes the relations between the two countries. Particular attention was called to the significance of the agreements concluded in Athens on June 18, 1959.

Having noted with pleasure that the development of commodity exchange and economic cooperation between the two countries was successful and that the volume of trade increased appreciably, the two delegations confirmed the common wish for the further strengthening of this cooperation in the interest of both economies. They agreed on the need of maximum stability in trade between the two countries and of a more detailed study of the possibilities for the broadening of trade by new articles. The necessary practical measures will be implemented to this end.

Information was exchanged on the possibilities for the participation of the Yugoslav industry in the fulfillment of the Greek five year economic development programme and the common conviction expressed that the realization of a broader economic cooperation and technical assistance in this field is in the mutual interest of both partners. Agreement was reached to examine this problem in greater detail in the Mixed Yugoslav-Greek Committee for economic cooperation and technical assistance.

The two delegations noted that the increase of mutual tourist exchange in the field of international tourist trade would be in the interest of both countries and the coordination of their efforts.

The two parties likewise agreed to begin preparations immediately for the creation of the Mixed Yugoslav-Greek Committees foreseen by the agreements concluded in Athens on June 18, 1959, thus enabling these bodies to convene and begin work after the ratification of these instruments.

During his stay in Yugoslavia Vice Premier Canelopoulos had talks with Vice President of the Federal Executive Council Edvard Kardelj on problems of general interest. He also had an interview with the Secretary of the Federal Executive Council for education and culture Krste Crvenkovski on the practical implementation of the agreement on scientific and cultural cooperation.

The talks held in Beograd confirmed the resolve of the two governments to continue the further promotion of cooperation between the two countries in all domains of mutual interest.

Vice Premier Canelopoulos and Minister Dertilis were received by President Tito during their visit to Yugoslavia.

The Vice President of the Federal Executive Council Mijalko Todorović accepted the invitation of Vice Premier Canelopoulos to pay an official visit to Greece. The date of the visit will be fixed later on.



# Yugoslavia

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Tourist Association of Yugoslavia  
Belgrade, Lole Ribara 39, P. O. B. 595



RAB

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— her cultural and historical monuments, interesting folklore, knightly tournaments, fairs of all kinds, cultural and artistic events

— her comfortable accommodation and delicious national dishes

attract tourists from all over the world to Yugoslavia.

ZAGREB







## Production and Development of „SUTJESKA“ LESONITE BOARD FACTORY Foča

EXPORTER „ŠIPAD“ — SARAJEVO  
Maršala Tita 9a — Telephones: interurban 39-42  
Central: 28-01, 28-30, 24-88 and 44-96  
POB 213

The SUTJESKA fibre board factory was built in 1953.

Production rose steadily from year to year.

Significant results were also accomplished with regard to the improvement of quality. The quality of fibre board produced at present corresponds to international standards and is in no way inferior to similar products by well-known foreign manufacturers.

### PROPERTIES OF LESONITE BOARD AND ITS USES

The SUTJESKA factory of „lesonite“ (fibre-board) in Foča is the only factory of its kind in the country. Apart from chipboard, SUTJESKA is also a manufacturer of insulating board.

The technological process is based on most up-to-date Swedish-made equipment, beginning from the cutting machines, the equipment for the cooking and defibering of the pulp, the instruments for the regulation of the density of the pulp, the sorting machines, the appliance for the filtering and dosage of chemicals, the heavy hydraulic press and equipment for heat processing, the drying plant and sawmill, and the cutters for finished board.

The final stage in the production of fibre-board takes place in the hydraulic press under high pressure and temperature, while the final stage of production of insulating board takes place in one of the most up-to-date driers for the continuous drying of board.

The entire process of production is mechanized.

The SUTJESKA factory is producing two staple items: lesonite fibre board and lesonite insulating board. Both articles can be produced in a wide range of

qualities and colours thus enabling their use for many different purposes.

„Lesonite“ hardboard: This group includes board of 3.5 to 5.0 mm thickness, resistance to pressure of 400–500 kg/cm<sup>2</sup>, absorbency up to 22 per cent and a specific weight of 1000 kg/m<sup>3</sup>.

Semi-hard board has slightly different properties, — flexibility to breakage of 250–300 kg/cm<sup>2</sup>, a slightly higher absorbency and much lower specific weight.

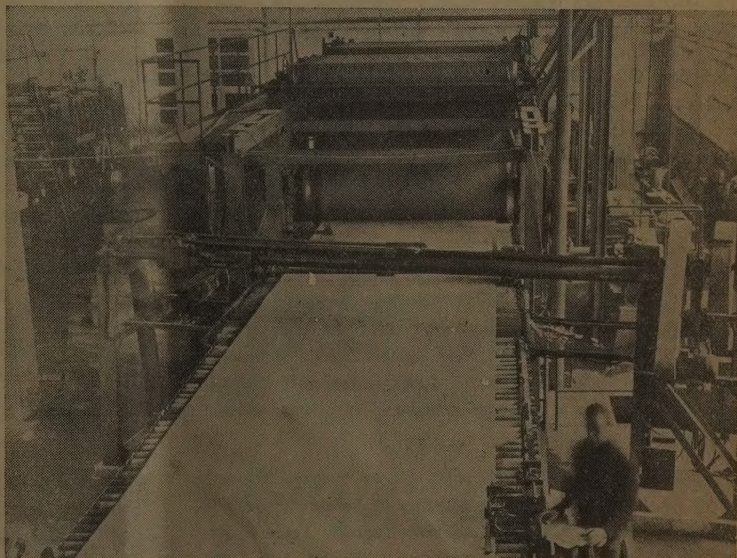
Extra-hard lesonite board has a high resistance to pressure low absorbency and specific weight of over 100 kg/cm<sup>3</sup>.

„Lesonite“ insulating board: This article is usually made in thicknesses of 8–200 mm. Standard insulating board has

a flexibility ratio of 20–25 kg/cm<sup>2</sup>, absorbency of up to 50 per cent after 24 hours immersion in water, and a specific weight of 250 kg/m<sup>3</sup>. Such boards have a thermal conducting coefficient of 0.036 to 0.042 cal/h C° thus making them an excellent insulating material.

Insulating „lesonite“ board can be produced with different specific weights. In that case, however, the other properties are also altered.

Decorated and engraved board: by further treatment the lesonite board is improved and finished for various purposes and uses. During the production process already, the board can be engraved, so as to simulate various materials such as lea-





ther, or various designs and patterns embossed.

There are many ways of improving fibre-board. It can be enamelled with various lacquers, coated with melanin films, veneered etc. The aim of these processes is to obtain finished products of a pleasing appearance, high gloss, resistance to moisture and temperature, and the weaker bases and acids. Therefore lesomite is often used as an imitation of ceramics, marble and various other building materials.

Insulating lesomite board can also be dyed in various shades of colour, thus greatly improving their appearance and broadening their uses.

Perforated and laminated insulating board is an excellent acoustical material. Apart from this, insulating board is widely used as an interlining for panel board or combined with hardboard.

The uses of lesomite board are many and various. It is an important substitute for timber, plywood and other building materials, in the manufacture of furniture, substitutes for parquet flooring, in the manufacture of car bodies, prefabricated houses, barracks, for plasterboard, in bathrooms instead of ceramic tiles, as simulated marble for table tops, for stands,

booths, camping houses and other purposes.

They can also be used as an interlining.

"Lesomite" fibre-board and insulating board is easy to use and handle, besides being more stable and resistant to various changes of weather and temperature. It is also more economical than other similar products.

"Lesomite" board enamelled and similarly prepared is acquiring an ever broader use both at home and abroad.

#### SIGNIFICANT EXPORTS OF FIBRE BOARD

Although exports were not large during the first two years, the collective nonetheless endeavoured to open up new markets abroad. This was not easy, owing to the keen competition encountered. In spite of this, the SUTJESKA factory managed to acquire a good reputation on these markets and has established good business contacts in many countries. SUTJESKA exported 1,200,000 dollars worth of lesomite board thus becoming a significant Yugoslav exporter enterprise.

SUTJESKA is currently exporting its products to the following countries: Italy, France, Switzerland, West Germany, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Turkey, Cyprus etc.

#### PRODUCTS OF SUTJESKA FACTORY

For the time being the factory is producing the following assortment: paraffined hard board, non-paraffined hardboard, semi-hard board, simulated leather board, pallette board, impregnated insulating board, white insulating board.

The following articles are produced on a co-production basis: lesomite parquet, composite board, accoustical board.

#### PRODUCTION PROGRAMME FOR 1959

Apart from the above mentioned products, the factory programme foresees the production of the following new articles in 1959:

Lesomite parquet, extra-hard board, panel board, combined lesomite board, duplex board, triplex board, perforated accoustical board, ribbed accoustical board, enamelled board in various colours, melanin coated board, simulated ceramic tiles.

## Meetings and Talks

US TRADE MISSION IN YUGOSLAVIA. — A US trade mission, consisting of several prominent US business representatives, arrived in Belgrade. The members of the mission will spend a month in this country, where they will visit several Yugoslav cities and industrial centres, and examine the possibility of increasing trade between the two countries.

ARRIVAL OF INDONESIAN TRADE DELEGATION. — An Indonesian trade delegation, headed by Ishmael Thaeb, Director of the Economic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, will examine with Yugoslav economic experts the development of commodity exchange between the two countries, and discuss the possibility of establishing some new forms of economic cooperation.

VISIT OF U.A.R. MINISTER EL KAYSOUNI. — During his five day sojourn in Yugoslavia El Kaysouni, Minister of Economy of the United Arab Republic visited the International Technical Fair in Belgrade, as well as the Zagreb International Fair, and had talks with the Yugoslav leaders on topical problems of economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic.

TRADE TALKS WITH ITALY. — Signor Spagnoli, Under-Secretary of State in the Italian Ministry of Foreign Trade, and Professor Teani, Chairman of the Italo-Yugoslav Trade Chamber in Milan, had talks on commodity exchanges with Ljubo

Babić, President of the Foreign Trade Committee. The Italian guests visited the Belgrade and Zagreb fairs, and also visited several Yugoslav industrial enterprises.

GREEK VICE-PREMIER ARRIVES IN YUGOSLAVIA. — Mr. Canelopoulos, Greek Vice-Premier, accompanied by Mr. Dermitis, Minister of Trade, and other members of his suite, visited Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Federal Executive Council. Vice-Premier Canelopoulos will be the guest of Vice-President Mijalko Todorović. On this occasion the Greek Vice-Premier will hold official talks on questions of interest to both countries, particularly with regard to the promotion of economic and cultural cooperation. The members of the delegation visited several towns and industrial centres in Croatia and Slovenia.

SCANDINAVIAN BUSINESSMEN IN YUGOSLAVIA. — Trade delegations from Denmark, Sweden and Norway arrived in Yugoslavia as guests of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Chambers. The Scandinavian businessmen visited the Belgrade and Zagreb fairs, and had talks with Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, and other Yugoslav leaders.

YUGOSLAV ECONOMISTS VISIT WEST GERMANY. — Thirty-six Yugoslav economists will attend the Sixth International Seminar for Office Organization. This trip was organized by the review "Ekonomika preduzeća".



**STUDENTS OF BRITISH IMPERIAL SCHOOL IN YUGOSLAVIA.** — A group of students of the British Imperial School visited Yugoslavia. During their stay in this country the group visited the Senior Military Academy of the Yugoslav People's Army, the „Ivo Lola Ribar“ factory in Železnik, and some other industrial projects.

**IRILEM“ CONGRESS.** — The congress of the Permanent Commission of the International Federation of Laboratories for Materials and Structure Testing was held in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. The congress, which was attended by about fifty scientists from twenty-four countries, was greeted by Sergej Krajger, a member of the Federal Executive Council. The work of the Congress proceeded in technical commissions.

**SECRETARY OF CEYLONESE LANKHA SAMA SAMAJA PARTY IN YUGOSLAVIA.** — Mr Leslie Gunewardene, Secretary of the Ceylonese Lankha Sama Samaja Party, arrived in Yugoslavia as a guest of the Socialist Alliance. Mr Gunewardene visited several Yugoslav cities and had talks with the representatives of the Socialist Alliance.

**YUGOSLAV NORWEGIAN CULTURAL COOPERATION.** — A programme of cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and Norway was signed in Oslo for the period from September 1, 1959 to December 31, 1960. The programme calls for a substantial expansion of cultural cooperation.

**CANADIAN CHEMIST IN BEOGRAD.** — Dr Leon Marion, one of the most distinguished Canadian chemists and Director of the Pure Chemistry Department of the Canadian Scientific Council, arrived in Belgrade at the invitation of the Federal Nuclear Energy Commission. Dr Marion visited various Yugoslav scientific centres and had talks with several prominent Yugoslav scientists.

**VETOZAR VUKMANOVIĆ IN ITALY.** — A delegation of the Yugoslav Trade Unions Council, headed by Svetozar Vukmanović, left for Italy. The delegation will conduct talks with the leaders of the Italian General Confederation of Labour on various problems pertaining to the Trade Union movement and mutual cooperation.

**FRENCH NUCLEAR SCIENTISTS VISIT YUGOSLAVIA.** — Dr Paul Henri Jammet, Chief of the Service for Nuclear Hygiene and Radiopathology of the French Commissariat for Atomic Energy, came to Yugoslavia recently. The distinguished French scientist visited several Yugoslav cities and had talks with the highest Yugoslav officials and scientists.

**CANADIAN ECONOMISTS ARRIVED IN BELGRADE.** — Mr. Willgress, the distinguished Canadian economist, arrived in Belgrade as a guest of the Federal Institute for Scientific Research. Mr Willgress, who is the Canadian representative in OEEC, will have talks in Yugoslavia on the organization of scientific research and the training of young scientists.

**ITALIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE AT ZAGREB FAIR.** — A reception held in honour of Italian Day at the Zagreb International Fair was attended by Signor Rinaldo

Del Bo, Italian Minister of Foreign Trade, and other distinguished personalities. Signor Del Bo stated on that occasion that a further increase of trade between Italy and Yugoslavia is shortly to be expected.

**ANTI-CORROSION CONFERENCE.** — The First International Conference for the Protection of Hydroelectrical Projects and Equipment from Corrosion was opened in Belgrade on September 14. Apart from 130 Yugoslav representatives, this meeting is attended by eighty foreign experts from thirteen countries, as well as the OEEC delegate for the organization of research, and several university professors and representatives of scientific institutions.

**VISIT OF CEYLONESE MINISTER OF TRADE.** — Mr. R. G. Senanayke, Minister of Trade of Ceylon arrived in Belgrade on September 14, where he will spend a few days as guest of Ljubo Babić, President of the Foreign Trade Committee. During his stay, Mr. Senanayke will visit several industrial projects and shipyards, the Zagreb Grand Fair, and other institutions.

**YUGOSLAV-BULGARIAN TALKS.** — Trade talks between the official delegations of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria were opened in Sofia on September 14. The two delegations will examine the fulfillment of this year's trade agreement and discuss the conclusion of an agreement for 1960, as well as a three-year trade arrangement which would cover the period from the beginning of 1960 to the end of 1962.

## Chronicle of Political Events

*August 30* — President Tito visited the Third International Technical Fair in Belgrade, and stated on that occasion that he was deeply impressed by the rapid development of the Yugoslav industry and the progress made by the Belgrade Fair by comparison with last year.

*September 1* — President Tito received the members of the Japanese parliamentary delegation which is now visiting Yugoslavia.

## Our Current Account

„THE REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS“ HAS  
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*September 1* — President Tito received the Nobel prizewinner, Dr S. Wachsman, Director of the Institute for Microbiology of the New Brunswick University and discoverer of streptomycin.

*September 1* — President Tito received a delegation of the Council of the International Lawyers Union headed by Dr Hans Peter Schmidt, Chairman of the Union.

*September 2* — President Tito received Monsieur Daniel Meyer, the French Socialist leader and President of the League for Human Rights.

*September 5* — President Tito opened the Fiftieth Zagreb International Fair. In a statement to the press the President commented favourably on the role of the Zagreb Fair in the development of economic ties with foreign countries.

*September 5* — The seventh conference of the World Association for Political Science, which was attended by about one hundred delegates from fourteen countries of Europe, Asia and America, held in Opatija, was concluded. The principal subject discussed at the conference was: „The Relationship of Military and Political Authorities in the Contemporary State“. Reports were also submitted and a discussion held on the development of political science at the Yugoslav universities.

*September 8* — President Tito received the Greek Vice-Premier, Mr Canelopoulos and the Greek Minister, Mr Dertilis.

## Diplomatic Diary

*September 1* — Rato Dugonjić, former Ambassador to Poland, was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United Arab Republic by Decree of the President of the Republic.

*September 2* — President Tito received following chiefs of Yugoslav diplomatic missions abroad who are at present in Belgrade: Dragoje Djurić, Yugoslav Envoy to Israel, Jovo Kapičić, Ambassador to Hungary, Mita Milkjović, Ambassador to Greece, Lazar Mojsov, Ambassador to the USSR, Milijan Neoričić, Ambassador to Sweden, Jakša Petrić, Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Dušan Ristić, Envoy to Iran, and Mitja Vošnjak, Envoy to East Germany.

*September 2* — President Tito received Drago Govorušić, newly-appointed Yugoslav Ambassador Extraordinary

and Plenipotentiary to Finland, on the eve of his departure for his new assignment.

*September 2* — Koča Popović, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, left for New York, where he will head the Yugoslav delegation at the forthcoming session of the United Nations.

*September 3* — During the absence of Koča Popović, Veljko Mićunović, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, will deputize in his stead.

*September 3* — Aleksandar Ranković, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, received the Greek Ambassador, Mr T. Tsakalotos.

*September 15* — Agreement was reached between the Yugoslav Government and the Government of Liberia on the establishment of regular diplomatic relations. The diplomatic missions of the two countries will have the status of legations.

## Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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